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177 on account of new influences affecting the regulation of marriage, and
121 above all in the megalithic ritual, new forms of which were constantly being acquired from further south.

121 Expeditions to other islands confirmed this initial impression of a
184 northward movement of culture, and it was for this reason that, as part of an effort to establish a historical sequence of cultures, I turned my attention to the most northerly islet of this group, namely Vao. There I found an earlier form of kinship structure in which, despite the uniformly patrilocal nature of all Small Island culture, the matrilineal element received more overt expression than in those islets further south where patrilineal influence is being constantly reinforced by the same cultural drift as is responsible for the new forms of megalithic ritual. The same matrilineal element also dominated the mortuary rites, showing that these also belonged to an older layer of culture than those in the remaining Small Islands. It is for this reason that, despite the fact that my main field-work was carried out on Atchin, I propose to devote this first volume to Vao in order to supply a firm historical basis for the accounts to be given in later volumes of the more recent developments of megalithic culture in this region.

122 For hospitality during my visits to Vao, where I did not, as on Atchin, live in native quarters, I am indebted to the kindness and real friendship of Père Jamond of the Marist Mission, at that time Roman Catholic priest on that island, where he had lived alone for over nine years. Our first meeting had been one of unveiled hostility on his part, since he had heard exaggerated accounts of my performances in native dances on Atchin, of which he severely disapproved. But once that little difficulty had been overcome and he recognised a fellow-student of native culture, our friendship quickly ripened, and he was indeed the only white man in the islands with whom I felt I could speak about native matters on equal terms. He was a keen philologist, spoke Vao well (which he described as being "*aussi beau que le français*"), and had compiled a considerable dictionary of the language. His flock, however, was small, consisting for the most part of a few old men and young children, and the majority of the population was quite untouched by Mission influence, the natives of all the Small Islands having at that time, despite the presence of Missions of several denominations, for the most part definitely turned their faces against any form of Christianity. Nevertheless, owing to his humour and understanding and quite obvious sincerity, the natives regarded him with affection, and in cases of trouble with white men, not only the natives of Vao but even those from other islands ostensibly belonging to other Missions often sought his aid.

While fully conscious of the pitfalls attending a comparatively short stay under such conditions, these were, however, considerably minimised by the fact that, as known to the Vao natives, I had lived half a year

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CHAPTER I

OUTLINE OF CULTURE IN MALEKULA

GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

THE islands of the New Hebrides form a long archipelago stretching for about 400 miles from north to south between the 165th and 170th parallels of South Latitude and the 13th and 20th degrees of West Longitude, about midway between the Solomon Islands and Fiji, and flanked on the south-west by the Loyalty Islands and New Caledonia.

The southern islands of this archipelago are few and far between. In the centre is the island of Fate, with Vila, the port of call. Close by, on small islets, are two Polynesian-speaking communities whose ancestors are thought to have drifted over from Polynesia in comparatively recent times, but which have not greatly affected the culture of their neighbours. Some fifty miles northward of Fate the archipelago divides, one branch going due north and the other north-west. The nodal point where these two branches divide is a volcanic area containing two active craters, one on the small island of Lopevi consisting of a single volcano rising sheer from the sea, and the other on the larger island of Ambrim where, in 1913, a whole Mission station was engulfed in an eruption. Westward of this lies the southern portion of Malekula, an island sixty miles long, forming the base of the north-westerly branch of the archipelago. Off its south-eastern coast lie the Maskelyne Islands, and at the western extremity of its southern coastline is South-West Bay, where Deacon did most of his field-work. It is from this southern and south-western region of Malekula that the artificially elongated skulls found in so many museums have been acquired, cranial deformation not being practised in the more northerly regions of the island. It is here also that exists the elaborate mortuary ritual during the course of which these skulls are mounted on wooden effigies and preserved in the men's houses.

Very different from the relative isolation of South Malekula is the situation of the Small Islands that lie off its north-eastern coast. They are in the fortunate position of facing inwards towards the comparatively enclosed inland sea bounded on the south by Ambrim, on the east by Raga[1] which stretches due north of Ambrim, on the north-east by Oba, and on the north-west by Malo and the largest island of the group called Santo. The islands that bound this inland sea, together with Maewo[2]

[1] Also called Pentecost. [2] Also called Aurora.

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Pygmoids in the mountains.

Among this medley of small communities, each having contact only with its immediate neighbours, there are nevertheless certain broad distinctions to be drawn.

First among these is the definite racial distinction between the coastal peoples as a whole, including those inhabiting the northern plateau, all of whom share certain physical characteristics in common, and the small, almost pygmoid inhabitants of the mountainous interior of South Malekula who represent the last remnants of an earlier racial stock similar to that found also in the interior of certain other of the larger land-masses in the Western Pacific. Though some of these occasionally come down to the coast at South-West Bay and other spots, practically nothing is known about them.

"Mat-skirt" and "Fringe-skirt."

Among the remaining inhabitants of the island Deacon drew a broad distinction between what he termed the "mat-skirt" people and the "fringe-skirt" people, based on the different types of dress worn by the women.[1] The mat-skirt is a plaited strip made of split pandanus leaves worn round the buttocks with short lengths left unplaited at either end which, when worn, are gathered together in front. It is invariably dyed red, and often decorated with geometric patterns coloured a faint yellow on account of the turmeric bath in which the mats are soaked before applying the red dye, these being bound round a stick during the dyeing process in such a way as to form the desired pattern by preventing the red dye from reaching the parts so bound.[2] The fringe-skirt is, on the other hand, a short petticoat made of shredded banana leaves or numerous pieces of finely twisted string undyed and hanging loosely about the loins. The mat-skirt is worn, with one exception, by the women of all the coastal peoples, and of those inhabiting the northern and southern extremities of the island, among all of whom the men wear a penis-wrapper made of similar material. The fringe-skirt is worn by the women of one coastal district only, namely Mewun, immediately to the north of South-West Bay, and is also the characteristic female dress of those tribes inhabiting the interior of Central Malekula. These two types of dress correspond also with an important cultural distinction, the use of the mat-skirt being definitely correlated with the megalithic culture practised by all the mat-skirt people but not by the fringe-skirted inhabitants of the interior. While it is true that the inhabitants of Mewun already mentioned, whose women wear the fringe-skirt, also perform megalithic rites, these latter have only been adopted by them during recent years. The same also applies to the neighbouring island of Ambrim, where a similar state of

[1] Deacon, 4, pp. 702 ff.
[2] This process is technically known as "reserved dyeing."

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184 291 affairs exists, and where the megalithic ritual is also known to have been introduced comparatively lately from Malekula.

"Mat-skirt": Four main cultural areas.

184 Confining ourselves now to the mat-skirt region, while Deacon mentions some fifteen cultural areas, each containing numerous sub-divisions speaking distinct dialects, he was nevertheless able to distinguish four main regions, each possessing certain outstanding characteristics not found in the others.[1] These are, with my own additions from the ritual point of view;

(*a*) The south coast from slightly north of Port Sandwich in the east right round to South-West Bay, including the Maskelyne Islands on the south-east and Tomman Island on the south-west. This region is best known for the practice of artificially elongating the head and of preserving the skull, which is then modelled with clay and fibre to resemble the dead man's face while yet alive, and mounted on a wooden effigy representing the body, which is then decorated with all the insignia acquired by the dead man during his lifetime and preserved in the men's Lodge. In this region comparatively little stonework is set up during the rites, this being confined to the erection of monoliths, some plain but some carved with representations of the human face, and of small stone circles surrounding some of the cycas palms and other small trees ritually planted. On the other hand, the number of ranks taken during the graded society ritual associated with these monuments is very high, amounting in some places to over thirty. The coastal inhabitants of this southern region formerly possessed large sea-going canoes, and those in the south-west believe in a group of mythological culture-heroes who in the district of Seniang are called Ambat and are there said to have had light skins and prominent noses, and after founding certain institutions to have sailed away. In the neighbouring district of Mewun, however, the corresponding Kabat, whose megalithic tomb is referred to later, is said to have had two sons who in turn procreated ten stones whose sons became the ancestors of the ten sub-clans in this village.[2]

(*b*) The northern head of the island, in which the dominating tribe is that of the Big Nambas, so called on account of the exceptionally large size of the penis-wrapper which the men wear.[3] This is the most homogeneous tribe of the whole island, and the only one having hereditary chiefs and among whom kava is drunk. The inhabitants live in large fortified villages in striking contrast to the much smaller villages in most

[1] Deacon, 4, p. 15.

[2] See p. 706 and Deacon, 4, pp. 630-2. There is a slight confusion in this account as to the actual number of stones, which may have been twelve, thus corresponding with the twelve brothers in Banks Islands mythology.

[3] See p. 481.

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other parts of the island, are very warlike and reputed to be particularly fierce cannibals, practise a form of circumcision in contrast to the lesser operation of incision performed by all other known Malekulan peoples, and are moreover notable for a system of organised homosexuality. Little is known regarding their ritual life save that they erect both monoliths and dolmens and that the number of ranks in the graded society is limited to four, two of which are the prerogative of the chiefly families. The Big Nambas themselves occupy the south-western corner of the plateau, the remaining part of this mountainous region being occupied by what Mr. Harrisson calls the Middle Nambas in the centre and the Small Nambas towards the north-west. The Big and Middle Nambas, being inland folk, possess no canoes.

(*c*) The tribes occupying the western side of the "neck" and north-central parts of Malekula, centering round the villages of Lambumbu and Laravat on the west coast and the district of Lagalag adjoining the trade-route that crosses the neck of the island where the mountains are least high. The megalithic culture of the two first villages is characterised by the erection of long avenues of monoliths, and that of the centre by stone monoliths arranged round circular dancing-grounds in such a way as to produce large stone circles. The number of accompanying ranks in the graded society is high, and it is known that the higher ranks in South-West Bay have been derived from Lambumbu, whence the paraphernalia for them was formerly taken in sea-going canoes past the uninhabited stretch of coastline between Lambumbu and Mewun.

(*d*) The Small Islands, including the east coast from Pangkumu northwards. Regarding the coastal villages little is known. The Small Islands, on the other hand, are conspicuous for their possession of the most highly organised megalithic culture in the whole group, as the most casual visitor setting foot on any village dancing-ground may see from the rows of dolmens, monoliths and stone-platforms that meet his eye. These islands also contrast with all other parts of Malekula in that, while in all other districts the ranks achieved in the megalithic ritual are taken by individuals, and in certain areas in the north-west some sections of the population are altogether debarred, in the Small Islands the whole population takes part in such a way that, though individual leaders rise to special heights in the hierarchy, all male members of the community also take rank in two groups, each group being composed of alternating generations in the male line of descent. These groups result from the presence in these islands of two matrilineal moieties, not found, so far as I know, elsewhere in Malekula, which are allied to similar matrilineal moieties forming the basis of the dual organisation in the Northern New Hebrides and the Banks Islands well known through the writings of Codrington and Rivers. These moieties exist also in Ambrim, where they form an essential part of the 6-section system of kinship in that

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island already referred to,[1] and, through their co-existence with the overt patrilineal organisation shared by the Small Islands with Ambrim and with all parts of Malekula, have produced in the Small Islands also a sectional organisation not found elsewhere in Malekula. The result of this organisation on the megalithic ritual of the Small Islands is to divide the whole population of any given patrilocal village into the two groups already mentioned, each of which alternately performs the rite; and this rite is consequently of such a protracted nature that the cycle of ritual observances accompanying it takes almost a generation to perform, the minimum period in Vao being some fifteen years, followed by an interval of several more years before the resources of the community have sufficiently recovered for the other group composed of alternate generations in the male line to shoulder the responsibility of, and reap the honours due to, its repetition. In Atchin the minimum period is even longer, the ritual cycle there lasting about thirty years.

MEGALITHIC RITE CALLED MAKI

Main characteristics.

This main megalithic rite is in the Small Islands called *Maki*, and its counterpart throughout the whole mat-skirt area of Malekula is called by variants of the same word, of which the best known is *Mangki*,[2] as recorded by Deacon from South-West Bay. It is on the one hand a "mystery" in the sense outlined in the Preface, based, like all mysteries, on a ritual re-birth, of which the outward and visible signs are here the taking of a new name and lighting of a new fire on which, or from brands taken from it, the food for the re-born individual's sustenance must be cooked. As a rule, also, during the period immediately following the culminating act of re-birth the celebrant ritually becomes a child, in that for a minimum of thirty days he may not cook his own food nor leave the holy place where he has taken up his abode. During this period of spiritual as well as physical retirement, though his food may be cooked, with due precautions, by his wife, he abstains from sexual intercourse and observes many other taboos, one of the commonest of which is that he may not look on the sea. By these means he becomes at one also with the ancestral dead in whose footsteps through the observance of the rite he treads. The stone monuments he sets up are likewise erected not only for himself and, in the Small Islands, for all those who perform the rite with him, but also for those same ancestors who have performed it before him, and whose ghosts, together with his own after his death,

[1] See p. 5 and later on pp. 118 ff.

[2] In Deacon's posthumously published work this is referred to throughout as *Nimangki*, in which *ni-* is only the indefinite article and is therefore redundant. For other variants of this word see p. 692.

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sacrifice was still practised in the Small Islands on certain ritual occasions till put a stop to by the white man, and is still practised on the Malekulan mainland, this does not form part of the ritual of the Maki itself, which, by the substitution of tusked boars, is held by the natives to constitute the main force in their culture making for peace.

Details of the procedure accompanying the sacrifice of these animals will be given in later chapters. This brief summary of their ritual importance is given here only to explain the immense value attached to them and the amount of time and care spent in their rearing. Not only are they reared at home, however; for trade in pigs is also the chief motive for the voyages undertaken by the Small Islanders in their sea-going canoes to the distant islands of Oba and Raga to the east, to Malo in the north as well as southward to Ambrim and the east coast of Malekula.

Tusked boars are also used, while alive, as currency. For, despite the elaborate ritual life that goes on in these islands, the Malekulan, not excluding the Small Islander, is nothing if not commercially minded, driving hard bargains, exacting the highest possible price for his daughters from their suitors, lending pigs out on loan, receiving high fees for the performance of magical rites, cures and other services; and, above all, in one of the most interesting ways of amassing wealth, namely the institution of copyright by which new songs and dances and even new forms of ritual are passed on from one individual or community to another on payment of high prices in pigs regulated according to the elongation of their tusks, without which payment not even the smallest element of ritual or artistic culture may be acquired by those not having previously possessed it.

New forms of the rite introduced from Lawor and Bot-walim.

This custom in turn enormously enhances the commercial importance of prestige, and itself largely results from the extraordinary mixture of cultures existing in these islands. For it is a fact well known to the inhabitants of every Malekulan village that hardly a single element of megalithic culture is indigenous. Every village has its own stories of where such and such an element of culture came from, and in the Small Islands it is known for a considerable number of generations back precisely what individual "bought" it and from where.

I have already mentioned the acquiring of the highest ranks in the megalithic hierarchy in South-West Bay from the village of Lambumbu some twenty miles up the coast. For the Small Islands the centre of distribution of innumerable new forms of ritual during the past eight generations has been the two villages of Lawor and Bot-walim which formerly flourished on the Malekulan mainland opposite Wala, but are now extinct owing to the bloody fighting that resulted from the first

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introduction of firearms to the natives by unscrupulous Whites, whereby the Small Islanders, who were the first to acquire these weapons, succeeded in exterminating almost the whole of the once numerous population inhabiting the villages on the adjacent Malekulan coast.[1] This tragedy, now bitterly regretted by the Small Islanders themselves, has prevented any further enquiry as to how these two villages themselves acquired the rites. I do not know the actual date of this extermination. It cannot, however, have occurred very long ago, and in the generations preceding it a mass of ritual practices emanating from these two villages had already been acquired by Wala, whence a great deal has since been acquired in turn by Atchin but only a certain amount by Vao, and that only by the villages on one side of this island. This is one of the reasons why, as stated in the Preface, I have chosen Vao as the subject for this first volume in order to establish the historical sequence of cultures on these islands. Where this megalithic culture came from it is not the business of this work to discuss, and, except as regards a few outstanding features, the historical aspect of the problem is not mentioned.

Genealogical records and their connexion with stone monuments.

One relevant fact must nevertheless be mentioned because of its effect on the natives' own outlook. This is the sense of historical continuity possessed by the natives of the Small Islands, in which they differ notably from any other known tribes in this part of Melanesia, and which is expressed and fostered by their extensive orally transmitted genealogical records. I have already called attention to the fact that the cycle of rites comprising one performance of the Maki lasts approximately a generation, and to the stone monuments erected during each such performance. These monuments are never removed, and remain as a perpetual memorial of those who set them up. Each such performance is moreover distinguished from all others by some outstanding feature by means of which those taking part in it hope to eclipse in magnificence all previous performances, either by the acquirement of some new form of ritual or in the grandeur of the stones erected or, most impressive of all, by the number of boars sacrificed and by their value in terms of the elongation of their tusks. It is as a rule in accordance with this latter form of emulation that each Maki performance is named, these names, such as "The Circle-Tusker" or "The Five Hundred," referring to the quality or number of boars sacrificed, being treasured by the natives of each village as part of the historical heritage enhancing their own prestige. Not only is each Maki remembered, however, but also the leading men who organised it and carried it through, by means of the monoliths erected and at which some of the chief tuskers are sacrificed. Details of these sacrifices are also remembered, since, with

[1] See p. 602.

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At the same time the cycas is by no means absent from Malekula, but whereas, for example, in the *Mangki* of South-West Bay it is used as a cult object for certain ranks surrounded by a small circle of stones, it has no place whatever except in certain subsidiary ways in the Vao Maki, in which the only tree that I know of as being ritually planted is the erythrina. Such details could be multiplied *ad infinitum*, and are comparatively insignificant when compared with the great variation in the ritual as practised even in two villages on the same Small Island. In this way the two Sides of Vao perform quite different forms of the rite involving the erection of different types of stone monument and a corresponding variation in the details of social organisation. So also the individual villages composing each Side vary even within these limits in the elaboration of ritual facilitated by the custom of buying and selling rites.

FEATURES PECULIAR TO THE SMALL ISLANDS

Each "line" alternately performs the rite.

These matters will all be dealt with in due course. One of the chief characteristics, however, that distinguishes the Maki in all the Small Islands from any other recorded variants of the rite is that, whereas in all other districts of which we have adequate record, advancement in the hierarchy of ranks is achieved by individuals sacrificing purely on their own account, here the whole male community in any given village takes part, each "line" or marriage section consisting of alternate generations in the male line of descent performing the rite in alternating succession.[1]

Called Maki. Rite lasts from fifteen to thirty years.

A second point of similarity shared by all the Small Islands is the common use of the word Maki as opposed to the numerous other variants of the name listed on p. 692 and set out in Map X.

A third point of similarity in which the Small Islands differ from all other districts known to me is the extreme length of the period over which the rites are spread out, which in Vao may cover a period of from fifteen to twenty years, and in Atchin as many as thirty, thus lasting roughly a generation.

Rite divided into two parts. Stone-platform and dolmen.

A fourth point of similarity in the rites shared by all the Small Islands is that the whole performance is divided into two parts, each part culminating with the same series of ceremonies, at the end of which all the sacrificers become ritually re-born and take new names. In this way the

[1] Mr. T. H. Harrisson tells me that this is also the case in parts of Santo. A detailed description of the working of this system on Vao is given on pp. 97, 294 ff., 414 ff.

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members of the sacrificing "line" achieve re-birth twice during a single performance of this double rite. Then, after a period of recuperation, the members of the opposite "line" become the sacrificers and are themselves similarly twice re-born, after which the first "line" once more assumes the sacrificial rôle, and the two "lines" continue to alternate in this way, each being re-born twice during its period of office.

A fifth point of similarity is that, throughout the Small Islands, the monument on which the final sacrifice at the end of the second part of the rite is performed is a stone-platform.

The monuments at which sacrifice is made at the end of the first part of the rite, however, differ. In what I have referred to as the dolmen-Maki, as performed in the Superior double-village on Vao, this monument consists of a single large dolmen. In the new type of monolith-Maki which was introduced into the Small Islands from the mainland some eight generations ago, and which, with certain modifications, is now firmly established on Wala and Atchin, the single large dolmen has been replaced by ten shrines, each of which is a composite monument the stonework of which consists of a tall monolith coupled with a diminutive dolmen. In all cases the monument is combined with a wooden image representing the ghosts of the alternate officiating generations of the male ancestors of the officiating "line" of Maki-men, in other words, all those of the same kinship section who have previously performed the rite.

Stone monuments correspond to beliefs regarding the Journey of the Dead.

We have, in the chapter on mythology,[1] seen how these ancestral ghosts are constellated in the figure of the Guardian Ghost. This is in turn closely bound up with the symbolic connexion existing between the monuments just mentioned, together with the ritual associated with them, and the beliefs concerning the Journey of the Dead. For, looked at from this point of view, the two parts of the Maki, as performed now on Vao and till recently on Wala and Atchin, in fact correspond with the two superimposed layers of belief concerning this journey as held in the various islands. Thus, just as all islands agree in the belief of an ultimate home of the dead high up on a volcano, so all islands agree in erecting a stone-platform and lighting a fire on it as the culminating act in the second part of the rite. The differences in belief, however, occur in the position accorded to the Guardian Ghost met with on the way. In the Vao version of the Journey of the Dead, the first half of which represents the older story, the Guardian Ghost is met with at the entrance to the Cave of the Dead. The monument erected for the first part of the rite on Vao is therefore a dolmen, which

[1] See p. 225.

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corresponds to the cave. In the later versions of the story current on Atchin and Wala, however, the Guardian Ghost is said to be met with, not at the entrance to the cave, which in this version is empty, but on the reef at Bong-na-un,[1] and is at the same time said to be the grandmother of ten legendary brothers. In those islands, therefore, the monument erected for the first part of the rite has been altered so as to consist of ten shrines, in which the chief monument is a monolith combined with wooden image representing, from one point of view, the Guardian Ghost in its collective aspect, with the dolmen reduced to the smallest possible proportions and the ten sons represented by a division of the village into ten families, each of which is responsible for the erection of one shrine.

Of these two parts of the Maki, the first, characterised by the dolmen, is the older and, according to the natives' own records, was formerly practised also throughout the Small Islands at least as far south as Wala.[2]

Yet earlier type of rite in which the sole stone monument was a dolmen, similar to that now performed on Malo.

Thus, the natives affirm that at one time the dolmen was the only stone monument erected, and that in those days the rite was similar to that practised at the present time in the matrilineal island of Malo immediately to the north. In Vao this early type of rite is called *Ramben*,[3] a word probably connected with the Malo *rombu* used for the men's house which is intimately bound up with the rite as performed in that island and corresponds roughly to the Vao *ghamal*. All that is known, or that I have been able to record about the ritual at this early period, is that during the culminating rite ten re-entrant-tuskers were tied to the dolmen and there sacrificed just as, according to the Vao natives, is still the case on Malo. Owing to the sacrifice of these ten tuskers this ancient form of the rite is now referred to on Vao as Maki Hangawul.[4] *Hangawul* means "ten," referring to the ten re-entrant-tuskers (circle-tuskers are said to have been unknown at that time), and is thus purely descriptive. The word Maki, however, is in this case almost certainly an anachronism based on the modern use of this word to describe the whole rite, thereby supplanting the more ancient word *Sumbe* still used for the whole rite on Malo, but now restricted on Vao to describe the table-stone of the dolmen which is called *vet simbe-simbe*, *vet* meaning "stone" and *simbe* corresponding to the Malo *Sumbe*, both words, *simbe* and *Sumbe*, being variants of *Supwe* or *Sukwe*, of which, as mentioned elsewhere, the root is the Indonesian *sémba*, "to worship or honour." [5]

[1] See Layard, 4, pp. 122, 125.
[2] My records do not extend further south.
[3] This word is still used for the first part of the double rite for which a large dolmen is set up.
[4] Compare the Warsangul in South Raga (see p. 695).
[5] See p. 693.

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Three stages of development correspond with successive stages of belief concerning the Journey of the Dead.

We can thus trace, in the Small Islands, three main stages in the development of the rite as judged from the stone monuments used:

Name by which I refer to the whole Double Rite	Where now performed	Chief Stone Monument used in First Part	Chief Stone Monument used in Second Part
1. (Referred to on Vao as Maki Hangawul)	Formerly in all Small Islands, now on Malo	Single large dolmen	(No second part)
2. Dolmen-Maki	Superior Side of Vao	Single large dolmen	Stone-platform
3. Monolith-Maki	Wala, Atchin; now being adopted on Inferior Side of Vao	Ten shrines, each with large monolith and small dolmen	Stone-platform

Table IV

These three successive types correspond with the three stages in the development of beliefs concerning the Journey of the Dead from the Small Islands that have been described elsewhere,[1] namely:

	Position of Guardian Ghost	Home of the Dead
(1)	At entrance to Cave.	(In Cave).
(2)	At entrance to Cave.	On Volcano.
(3)	Alone on reef, though the cave is retained as an unimportant element in the story.[2]	On Volcano.

Of these three stages of development, both of the Maki rite and of the Journey of the Dead, the first is associated, through Malo, with what I refer to below as the central group of islands, in which the dolmen is the central sacrificial monument and the belief in a home of the dead on a volcano is absent.[3] The type of public graded institution which this represents is now obsolete, so far as the Small Islands are concerned. The third stage is associated, on the contrary, with the mainland of Malekula, whence the whole of the monolith-Maki is said to have come,

[1] Layard, 4, p. 140.
[2] The ten shrines correspond with the ten sons the Guardian Ghost is said to have, according to this late version.
[3] See pp. 691 ff., 713, and Distribution Map X.

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and where (at least in the north) the volcano is the goal to be sought by those of high rank after death. The second, or dolmen-Maki as performed on Vao, combines parts of both elements.

Doubling of the rite due also to beliefs concerning the Journey of the Dead expressed elsewhere in a division into higher and lower ranks.

This existing division into two main layers of culture also almost certainly explains the doubling of the rite. Indications exist that a similar doubling takes place in the rite in certain other districts, both in the ritual of some of the higher ranks and in a division of the ranks themselves into groups.[1] In Seniang, as both Deacon and I have independently shown, the ranks are divided into an even greater number of groups. In this case the multiplication of groups is due to the convergence of a number of culture-complexes, each of which has its own version of the Journey of the Dead. In other districts where there are only two groups of ranks the problem is simpler. With regard to the doubling of the rite in the Small Islands, a comparison with two neighbouring cultures will help to show what it means. The first lies in a consideration of the names given to the two parts of the rite, particularly in Atchin. Thus, in all the Small Islands, while the word Maki in its extended sense covers both parts of the rite, in its more restricted sense it is applied only to the second, which is the most important part, and in which the only sacrificial objects are tusked boars. The first part, on the other hand, is known by a variety of names, of which that used in Vao is Ramben [2] and that used in Atchin is Na-tò. Now the word *Na-tò* means "fowl," and refers to the fact that in this part of the rite, both in Atchin and in Vao, while the chief officiants sacrifice tusked boars, the rank and file of Maki-men sacrifice fowls. If we now turn to an examination of the ranks in East Oba we find that there are here only four, of which the lowest is Toa, meaning "fowl." "A boy has a fowl, *toa*, given him to start in life, and a fowl buys him his first step, the *toa*." But this "lowest step does not confer a title" as the higher ranks do. As "his fowls multiply . . . he changes some of them for a sow; so his property increases, and as he grows richer he desires to take each further step." [3]

It would thus appear that the first part of the rite called Na-tò in Atchin (and so also the Ramben in Vao) represents what was to some extent a preliminary rite for those not yet admitted to the higher ranks. The significance of this will be appreciated when we remember that the monuments erected for the first part of the rite are in both cases those which are associated with the cave and with the Guardian Ghost, which have been shown to represent a stratum of culture earlier than that

[1] The division into groups of ranks, where recorded, is shown on the Table of Grade Names by a thick line dividing one group from another.

[2] Also used for the old type of rite mentioned on p. 274.

[3] Codrington, 3, p. 113.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
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associated with the home of the dead in a volcano and with the stone-platform and the second part of the rite. Layers of culture are at the same time represented in the existing stratification of society, which in the Small Islands is associated with rank in the graded society rather than with considerations of birth. As has already been pointed out, the belief in a home of the dead in a volcano is associated with ideas concerning a sky-world and is particularly associated with the higher ranks, and the belief in a home of the dead in a cave with the lower ranks and with those who have not taken any rank at all. This duality of belief, based also on the psychological grounds indicated in the section on "Height," [1] is common throughout the Pacific as between chiefs on the one hand and commoners on the other. It is therefore permissible, as throwing yet further light on the Small Island problem, to call attention once more to the state of affairs among the chiefly Big Nambas, who also have four ranks, of which the two lower are in a different class from the two higher, the two lower being easily purchasable, but the two higher being acquired only by chiefs or by permission of a chief.[2] In this case, also, one of the main distinctions between the two pairs of ranks lies in the nature of the monuments erected, the pigs sacrificed for the two lower ranks being tied to stakes of cycas wood and for the two higher ranks to stones.

Additions to public graded society ritual from other sources.

It must not be supposed, from the above account, that the three types of public graded institution are entities to the extent that either the whole or nothing of them can be performed. On the contrary, it will be seen from what has just been said that, even with respect to such important items as the types of monument erected, elements can be added or taken away. With regard to the ritual, which is extremely complicated, as may be judged by the length of time it takes for the whole cycle to be performed, the opportunities for change are boundless. I refer elsewhere [3] to the fact that, in Raga, what is in other districts the separate rite of Initiation into Manhood has there been incorporated into the graded society ritual. So also we find that the construction of a *ghamal*, or of a new set of slit gongs, with the protracted ritual associated with them, is in some places incorporated with it, in others not. When it comes to a question of the almost infinite number of lesser rites that form part of this fifteen to twenty years' cycle, we find that so great is the variation in them from place to place that not even two villages within the same district perform all details of the rite alike. The same is true even within the restricted area of any one of the Small Islands with their small populations of about 400 inhabitants, where no two single-villages, though they may be halves of one double-village and however reduced in numbers, will have exactly the same series of sub-rites.

[1] See p. 732. [2] See p. 741. [3] See p. 493.

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Artistry and prestige.

Nor will any two successive performances in a given village be quite alike. For, with the keen dramatic and artistic sense of the natives, for whom, in the Small Islands, the Maki affords the opportunity for endless display of every kind in the introduction of new songs, new dances, new improvements to old rites, it is a matter of moment that not only for artistic reasons but also for prestige and the eclipsing of rival villages, at least something new should always be added. The chief method by which this is achieved is in the number of valuable tusked boars, often amounting to several hundred, that will be sacrificed at one time. Details of such mass sacrifices will be found in the accounts given below.

"*Copyright*," *The Selling of Rites.*

The numbers of boars killed depends upon the will only of those who sacrifice. With regard to ritual, however, the matter stands on a very different footing. For no rite or sub-rite, no song once performed, no dance once it has been invented, much less any important aspect of ritual, may be taken on by one village from another without heavy payment. There is a system of unwritten copyright for everything. Nothing is given away. Thus, in other aspects of culture also, the minutest alteration in the style of carving a canoe figure-head, in the number of decorative sticks projecting from a house-gable, or in the fashioning of a club, the smallest improvement in ritual—all these, once made, must be paid for by anyone wishing to repeat them.

INFLUENCE OF "COPYRIGHT" ON THE SLOW DIFFUSION OF CULTURE. BRIEF HISTORY OF THE MAKI ON ATCHIN

This system of copyright is an important indication of the super-development of the commercial aspect of life in the whole group, not only with respect to material things, but also towards their ritual proceedings. It is also a fact of prime importance with regard to the diffusion of culture. My chief data regarding this were obtained on Atchin, and will be published in detail in a future volume. But I will anticipate this publication to emphasise a few points.

My evidence is based on extensive genealogies and on detailed accounts as to exactly what individuals were responsible for the introduction of the most important elements of the rite. These records go back for nineteen generations to the introduction of patrilineal descent into the island.[1] Before this time the chief monument to be erected was the single large dolmen, as in the earliest record on Vao; circle-tuskers were at that time unknown, and the highest grade of sacrificial pig was a re-entrant-tusker. At this time also the titles taken were LUWUSH, WEL-WEL and

[1] See pp. 17, 84.

1: Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
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quish the right to perform it himself, but can continue to sell it to all comers.

The significant fact with regard to the length of time required for diffusion to take place under these conditions is that, in spite of the enormous prestige enjoyed by the new rite, and the eagerness of the natives for every new thing, after seven generations many of its important features have not yet reached Atchin, only three miles away from Lawor. Yet more, though many others have been possessed by one Atchin village for generations, some of these have not yet reached certain other villages even on Atchin, and, though the villages on the Inferior Side of Vao have now begun to adopt as much of the new rite as they can, the double-village of Pete-hul–Togh-vanu on the Superior Side has not bought any of it at all. Vao is three miles from Atchin and six miles from Lawor and Bot-walim, so that, on this computation, the speed of diffusion in this corner of the world under a system of ritual copyright is just under one mile per generation.

THE VAO MAKI

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Dolmen-Maki now performed only on Superior Side of the Island. Villages on Inferior Side have recently adopted the monolith-Maki from Atchin.

As I have already said, the type of public graded institution in which the only monument erected was a single large dolmen has for many generations been obsolete in the Small Islands.[1] So far as we know, and judging from the single monument erected, this rite was not a dual one as is the present-day Maki. The duality of the rite appears to have been introduced along with the stone-platform, which came from the mainland of Malekula along with a series of new beliefs concerning a home of the dead on a volcano. This happened, on Atchin, some eighteen generations ago, but we have no evidence when it was adopted on Vao, though presumably, as the whole movement of culture with which it is associated is here from south to north, this would have occurred several generations later than on Atchin. This dual rite, in which the chief monument erected for the first part is a dolmen and for the second is the stone-platform, is now only performed on Vao. Even so, however, such is the diversity of culture even on this minute island which is less than a mile wide, the whole population does not practise this rite, which is performed now only by the double-village of Pete-hul–Togh-vanu, which together form the Superior and therefore the most conservative Side of the Island. The remaining two double-villages have in quite recent times adopted new fashions from Atchin which, though they by no means embrace all

[1] See p. 274.

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the features which further south go to build up the newer type of monolith-Maki, nevertheless include its characteristic feature, namely the erection in the first part of the rite, in place of the single large dolmen, of ten shrines in each of which the dolmen survives only in diminutive form accompanied by a large monolith. This, following the general practice of calling a rite by the name, not of its place of origin, but of the place from which the right to perform it was bought, is now called on Vao the Atchin Maki. The first Vao village to purchase the main features of the monolith-Maki from Atchin was the village of Norohure, which, significantly enough, occupies the least distinguished position of all the Vao villages. I am not able to give the exact date of the transaction, which occurred some considerable time before my informant, a man of forty or fifty, was born. The Atchin Maki, that is to say the monolith-Maki, has been performed several times at this village, and several times at its parent village Singon, which was the next to acquire the right by the usual method of purchase. Peter-ihi, belonging to the other double-village on the Inferior Side of the Island, was the next to acquire it. This village has only performed it once, and at the time of my visit was just beginning it for the second time. Venu, its partner village, was the last to make the purchase, and at that time was in the middle of its first performance. As an instance of the slow rate of purchase of the various sub-rites, which must be bought one by one, none of these villages have yet acquired the right to perform the Atchin ceremony called *potali*,[1] and Peter-ihi alone has bought, direct from Atchin and not through the intermediary of any Vao village, the right to perform the ritual of erecting ceremonial yam-mounds called *tavi*.[1]

The junior, and probably refugee, communities of Lavame and Saraliwe died out (except for a few descendants not numerous enough to carry out any rite on their own) too soon for this new influence to have affected them, and never performed anything other than the dolmen-Maki.

Stone-platform introduced from mainland by way of Tolamp. "First men" of the Maki.

An interesting case is the position occupied by the other refugee community, that of Tolamp. This community, though numbering at most ten individuals, represents the total number of those now surviving from the once flourishing island situated between Atchin and Vao that was submerged, with the result that the inhabitants were forced to seek refuge elsewhere. A full history of their wanderings is given in another chapter.[2] It is enough here to say that, after occupying a number of sites on the mainland, at the last of which they erected the largest monolith known on

[1] These ceremonies will be described in a future volume on the Maki in Atchin.
[2] See Chapter XXII.

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Malekula, their descendants eventually became so decimated that the last remnants of them sought refuge on Vao, where they now live on ground ceded to them from Togh-vanu. In the days of their prosperity, however, they were regarded as the most go-ahead and therefore most honoured community north of Atchin, and were the first to buy any new form of Maki that emanated from the Malekulan mainland. This was in the days after the introduction of the stone-platform, but before that of the ten shrines. The result of this is that, in spite of their present position as refugees, they are still looked up to on Vao as depositories of the highest traditions of the older form of the existing Maki, as performed in Pete-hul–Togh-vanu, are regarded here as the "first men" of the Maki, and take precedence in all its rites.

"First men" the vehicles of "apostolic succession," and announce date of culminating sacrifice.

The position of "first men" of the Maki is an important one, since it not only confers considerable prestige on those holding it, but also embodies the principle of continuity connecting the present performers of the rite with its remote founders and with all those in the long line of participants who have practised and preserved it throughout the ages down to the present day. For, from the point of view of any given village in the Small Islands or on the adjacent mainland, the "first men" are always those from whom they themselves have acquired the most important aspects of the rite. The chief honour and duty imposed on them is that their leader, that is to say the chief man of the village from which the rite has been derived, shall undertake the important function of announcing the date on which the culminating sacrifice is to be performed.[1] As he does so, he holds a kava root in his hand, and representatives of all those who have already been initiated into the rite (namely those of the "introducing line" as well as initiates from other villages) must touch this while the announcement is being made, so that, through physical connection with him by means of the kava root, they may achieve continuity with the past and themselves forge a new link in the chain which will itself hand the rite on to posterity. Thus, for the Vao village of Pete-hul the "first men" are the men of Tolamp, from whom they derived their form of the rite. In its offshoot village of Togh-vanu, however, which in its turn derived the rite from Pete-hul, it is a man of Pete-hul who announces the date and so forms the link with the past. In the same way, in the villages on the Inferior Side of Vao, which have acquired yet later forms of the rite from Atchin,[2] the announcement is made by an Atchin man, or, failing such, by a man of the Vao village of Norohure, which was the first on this island to acquire these new forms. So continuity is preserved in much the same way as in the Christian

[1] See p. 376. [2] See p. 281.

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women became excluded, and by which incest (represented by copulation with the mother) in some form was abandoned; though it will be noted that there seems to have been no objection to To-wewe marrying his sister.

In the second place, there is the obvious connexion with mortuary rites, since the hero dies a voluntary death, presumably with the intention of being re-born.

Thirdly, there is the very remarkable mode of sepulture, in an upright hollow tree, recalling the tree-trunk burial of Attis and Osiris, while at the same time the tree chosen for this is that commonly used for making sea-going canoes, recalling many instances of burial in canoes throughout the islands.

Fourthly, there is the identification between the man and his tusked boar, which we have already seen to play such an important part in bringing about the identification between a man and the Guardian Ghost. It will be noted that the boar in question was a circle-tusker, which indicates that the event was comparatively recent.

Fifthly, the rite is definitely connected with ideas concerning the importance of the eldest son.

In the sixth place, it again emphasises the connexion between the newer form of the rite and the decimal system, the ten sons corresponding to the ten shrines erected in the later forms of Maki now practised on Atchin, together with the division of each village on that island into ten families each of whom is responsible for one shrine, and in the corresponding mythology concerning the ten grandsons of Le-saw-saw the Guardian Ghost.

OCCASIONS ON WHICH TO-WEWE'S SONG IS SUNG

(*a*) Vao

The song sung by To-wewe and his sister-wife, both when about to sacrifice the 100 twin-kernels and again when he enters on his voluntary death, is sung today on Vao on the occasion of the following *rites de passage*:

(*a*) During the mock battle that accompanies the celebration of the birth of an eldest son.[1]

(*b*) On the eve of the rites called *matean*, observed for the death of an old man prior to a dramatic scene in which the dead man is impersonated by a kinsman entering the hut built over his tomb and holds converse with the living, telling them that the dead man has returned to his mother's village.[2]

(*b*) Wala

The song is known also in other parts of the Small Islands. In Wala it is sung on the supreme occasion when a super-circle-tusker is consecrated for sacrifice at the Maki, clearly connecting this rite with To-

[1] See p. 183. [2] See p. 546.

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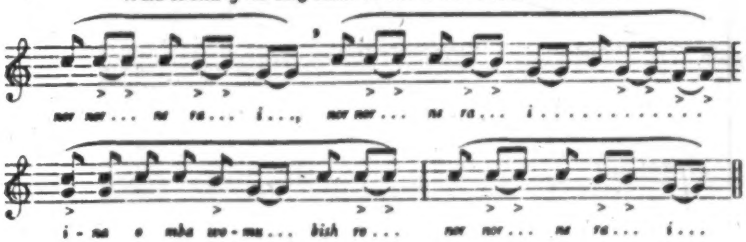
wewe's self-sacrifice along with his tusker in the tree. The version here sung is inferior to that sung on Vao, but is significantly connected with the mythological figure of Ias, who symbolises in his own person Small Island culture at the time when the only monument erected was the single large dolmen.[1]

SONG 2

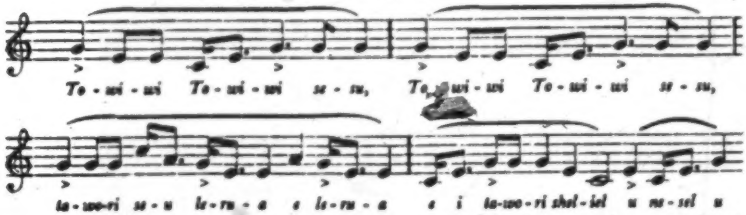
Wala version of the song which in Vao is connected with To-wewe

Cries of *Ias o!* *Ias o!* (twice).

The opening words are similar to those of the Vao version, but the rest (which I am unable to translate) differ. The inference to Ias comes in the cries at the end.

(*c*) Atchin

Words in certain other respects similar to those of the Vão version, and including the name of To-wewe, are sung on Atchin in connexion with the annual feast celebrating the return of the palolo annelid which marks the beginning of the calendar in the October-November moon. This is also the period when the ghosts of the dead are believed to revisit their former homes.

SONG 3

Sung during the New Year (Palu-ulen) feast on Atchin

(The last note is slurred upwards into cries of joy.)

[1] The mythology of Ias is chiefly connected with Atchin, where he is said to have been a man-eating ogre at a time ante-dating the introduction of the stone-platform, along with patrilineal descent, some twenty generations ago. The story of his assassination at the hands of representatives of the new culture will be told in a future volume. The historical era he represents corresponds to that of Ghiagh on Vao, and the two names are philologically equivalent.

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I noted this song before I was aware of the story of To-wewe. The only information I can give about it is that the last phrase means "They seek (*shel-iel*) *tawor* kernels on the path (*ne-selu*)." 184

RANKS: ORIGINALLY FOUR, NOW TWO

Once the stone-platform had been introduced to Vao from N'av-av by way of Tolamp, all the sub-rites connected with it were transmitted one by one through the same channel by the method of ceremonial purchase. 196 554

(a) *Vel-vel (or Na-som) and Mulŏn.*

The dual form of Maki resulting from this process included at one time four ranks, divided into two groups of two ranks each. The lowest group consisted of *Vel-vel* and *Mulon*. These are the two highest ranks known among the Big Nambas according to Deacon's information, and the only two according to my own information derived from Atchin, where *Mulon* is said to be the Big Nambas title for a chief. An alternative title for *Vel-vel* was *Na-som*, the word ordinarily used for shell-bead necklaces that in Vao are used purely for ornament but in the Banks Islands are money. Godefroy refers to both these as "children's titles," and it is possible that they may still be taken by boys during the mass sacrifice on the Lower Side of the dancing-ground described on pp. 390, 429.

(b) *Mal and Melteg.*

The highest group consisted of *Mal*, universally considered as the highest in the whole of the Northern New Hebrides, and the supernumerary title of *Melteg*.[1] Of these, *Melteg* is itself but a modified form of *Mal*, being formed by the addition of the syllable *teg*, which causes the *a* of *Mal* to be transformed into an *e*, *teg* being but another form of the word *togh* meaning "to stay," and referring to the periods of voluntary retreat undertaken by those of high rank after the sacrifice.

Only Mal and Melteg remain.

The process of democratisation in the Small Islands, combined with the enormously increased wealth of these islanders in pigs, has on Vao, as on Atchin, had the result that in recent years all the lower ranks have disappeared. Thus, for example, the rank of *Mulon* applied to chiefs among the Big Nambas has sunk so low as to become obsolete. This has no immediate social consequences since the Big Nambas have at the present time little or no contact with Vao. What is, however, most galling to the men of high rank on the east coast of Malekula is the fact that *Mal*, which is now actually the lowest of the two ranks taken on Vao, is

[1] Godefroy sometimes spells this *Meltek*, and when followed by a personal name often omits the *g* or *k*, leaving only *Melte*.

3: Harrisson N-5 (1934-1935) 1936
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Nambas

THE NEW HEBRIDES PEOPLE AND CULTURE

T. H. HARRISSON

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THE New Hebrides and Banks Islands natives have not been described as a unit, and our knowledge of south-central islands culture is still practically nil. The north and south parts of the group have matrilineal descent, but in the centre descent is patrilineal, this being almost certainly the later evolved form. The patrilineal people have two regular characteristics: slit gongs placed upright and a skull cult. The penis wrapper and incision are patrilineal and southern matrilineal, but do not occur in the northern matrilineal section, where the men wear hanging mats or go naked. Female clothing has a typically complex distribution; in the Banks a narrow *tapa* strip, in Santo a tiny leaf strip, in the north-eastern and central islands a red mat, in north Malekula a fringed mat, central Malekula fibrous skirt, south Malekula a plain mat, the southernmost isles a large fibre skirt, very elaborate on Erromango (Humphreys, 1927).

Secret societies have a wide distribution, but the secular graded society (*Sukwe* or *Maki*), the principle feature of life in north and centre, is absent in the south. Stone work is used in connection with this society except in north-east Santo. Hereditary chieftainship dominates the southern isles, but in the north only occurs among the Big Nambas. Remarkable are the long-headed deformation people of south Malekula, with a most elaborate secret-society culture. Totemism has a most erratic distribution, as has the use of *kava*. The most southerly islands have dominantly curvilinear art, but in the north angularity is regular. A benign ancestor-creator, with obvious affinities to Polynesian Tangaroa, is universal and of probably later origin *via* Omba and Malo, while Maui, the earlier Polynesian deity, is confined to the southern islands (*cf.* Williamson, 1924). The importance of the colour red and a rank society for women have a correlated distribution in the north-east and north-centre; splendid pantomimic dances, *na-leng*, the highest manifestation of native art, have a similar distribution, but occur again in simpler form in the southern isles. These too are later influences, as also a form of sacrifice on a stone table. The exact nature and effect of the many haphazard and subsidiary distributions of ideas that have occurred in these islands are being studied by Layard and myself.

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The local variation and complexity of this culture is astonishing. There is apparently no single item which is found uniformly throughout the group. Some things have a wide distribution, such as the word-root *mal* connected with the hawk, megapode, and rituals in which these are concerned; a many-barbed spear of casuarina wood; the term for child *natuk;* the ritual importance of tusker pigs; pandean pipes, though these vary greatly in form and usage. Of special interest as culturally peculiar are the Sakaus, with the simplest culture in the area; the communal house hill people of Santo; the Big Nambas and fibre-skirt tribes of Malekula. I am unable to decide which, if any, of these is the earliest and most truly Melanesian form. Our whole attitude to this problem must be revised before knowledge can advance.

Within the tribe the shape, architecture, and type of house built is constant,

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3: Harrisson N-5 (1934-1935) 1936
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but there is a big range of inter-tribal difference; take several islands and the variety is great. Curved houses seem to be found only in south Malekula, Ureparapara of the Banks (*cf.* Speiser, 1913, Pl. 15), and the southern islands of the group, an extraordinary distribution. To understand the development and organization of the village only structurally, a full study of each particular unit is necessary.

Speiser (1913) has said something of the distribution of stone works. Stone pudding-basins are confined to Big Bay. I was interested in stone axes, of which I made a considerable collection. Remarkable stone basins, "witching-vats," are confined to Gaua, where Mrs. Baker and I also found a stone effigy (Baker, 1935). In one small area of south-west Santo, around the village of Tavua, the stone axes are entirely distinct from all others in the group, being very slender and long in relation to their breadth. Shell axes do not occur in Santo, but are common in Malekula; in the Big Nambas there are some ritual clubs that seem to be made out of fossilized squid's cuttles, very long and heavy.

War-clubs are curved only in north-east Santo; long stick clubs are confined to the northern islands; paddle clubs characteristic of Malekula are absent on Santo. The Santo and Malo bows are regularly arched; in south and east Malekula the concavity is uneven, greater in the lower half. Feathered spear shafts are apparently confined to north Malekula and islets; fearful spear-tips of serried human bones only in Santo. Feather-shafted arrows I have not seen in Santo, but Speiser reports them from Big Bay, and there are two without locality in the Cambridge Ethnological Museum; in certain *na-leng* dances of north Malekula, feathered arrows are used. Combs worn in the hair show wide pattern range; a triangular form I have only seen on Gaua, and ones with handles decorated by pigs' bristles are confined to Sakau, Santo.

The distribution of *kava* is curious. It has a very local usage in north Malekula, where it is chewed and spat into a trough; is not used in south Malekula; in Sakau, Santo, the stalk is chewed; elsewhere in Santo the root is chewed and spat out into coconut shells (only by chiefs in part of the north-west), except around Turi, where it is absent. In the eastern islands *kava* is generally used green, crushed with a stone pounder. On Malo it is seldom used unless in magical rites.

There is a fair uniformity in the type of mixed bisexual dances connected with the graded society; the musical instruments vary more. Pan-pipes are the most important in north-west Santo; though widespread, these are seldom used for dances elsewhere; they are semi-sacred in central Malekula; into Sakau and Malekula the pan-pipes have been recently introduced. On Malo and in east Santo bamboos beaten on the ground are the main dance accompaniment; the former type is close to a large flute figured by Speiser (1913, Pl. 108). The nose-flute is used in Sakau; musical bow in central-south Malekula. Slit gongs are always upright in the patrilineal central islands, reclined in the northern islands. Sticks tapped together have developed into a dance band in the Big Nambas. Bone knives are common in south Malekula, but nowhere else have I found one; wooden knives are absent in Malekula, crude in Malo and W. Santo, elaborate in the Banks Islands.